1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

III. — GUARDIANS AND CHARMS.

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Passing from the conceptions of invisible supernatural beings to the religious significance of concrete objects, I shall begin with a discussion of guardians and charms. It is very difficult to answer the question, In what way does an image of man or animal, made by man, or do objects in their natural state and having no likeness to animated objects, come to be considered as deities or guardians? It is impossible to obtain a direct explanation from primitive man. I will relate here a case that I witnessed myself. Two brothers, Reindeer Koryak from Tılqai River, after their father's death, divided between themselves the reindeer-herd, intending to live apart. According to custom, the family sacred fire-board,[1] the guardian of the herd, was given to [329] the younger brother. Then the older brother made a new sacred fire-board for himself. With adze in hand, he went to the woods, and soon returned with a newly hewn wooden figure. It was put upon the cross-beam over the hearth to dry, and in a few days its consecration took place. A reindeer was slaughtered as a sacrifice to The-Master-on-High (Gičho'l-etı'nvıla'n), and the figure was anointed with the sacrificial blood and fat. Thereupon the mother of the two brothers pronounced an incantation over it, consisting of an appeal to Big-Raven to set up the new sacred fire-board as a guardian of the herd. Then fire was for the first time obtained from the sacred fire-board by means of drilling; and the wooden god, or rather guardian, black from hearth smoke, and shining from the fat that had been smeared upon it, became the guardian of the herd and of the hearth. "Now my reindeer will have their own herdsman," said Qačai, the older of the two brothers, with a smile, in reply to my questions.[2] It seems to me that there are two elements which participate in this transformation into a guardian, of a piece of wood shaped into a crude likeness of a human figure. First, there is the conception of a concealed vital principle in objects apparently inanimate. Second, there is the mysterious influence of an incantation upon this vital principle; i. e., the power of the words of man to increase the force of the vital principle, and to direct it to a certain activity. In what way the guardianship is exercised by the charm is a question which the Koryak never put to themselves; but it is exercised by means that are not perceptible to our senses.

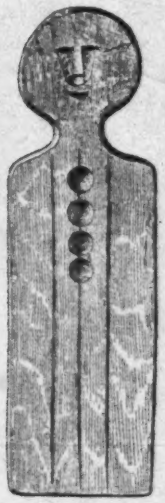
While the invisible, organizing, creative, and destructive forces — The-Master-on-High, Big-Raven, and kalau — are deities or spirits of the entire

[1] See p. 33.

[2] It was clear that his attitude towards the new guardian was somewhat sceptical, but the ancient custom proved stronger than his scepticism.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Koryak

tribe (with the exception of those that serve individual shamans[1]), the "protectors or guardians" belong each to a family, an individual, and in some cases to a whole village. In general, the guardians form a group of objects that are supposed to take care of the welfare of man, and keep away all evil from him. The particular function of the guardians depends upon the office with which they are charged. The same little figure may act as the guardian of a family or of an individual. Nevertheless some "guardians" have definite forms and duties.



I shall now enumerate those guardians about which I have succeeded in gathering information, and which are contained in the collection of the Museum.

Sacred Implements for Fire-Making. — The sacred implements for making fire are the following: —

A fire-board with holes in it, called gi'čgič or ge'čgei (Chukchee, gi'rgir), in which the drill is turned. The board is usually of dry aspen-wood, which readily ignites, and is roughly shaped like a human being. A head is carved out

Fig. 2. Sacred Fire-making Implements of the Maritime Koryak. *a*, *b* ($\frac{7}{7}\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{7}$, $\frac{7}{7}\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{7}$ a), Fire-Boards (length, 42 cm., 25 cm.); *c*, *d*, *e* ($\frac{7}{7}\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{7}$ a, b, c) Bow, Wooden Drill, and Stone Head-Piece (length of bow, 47 cm.).

at one end; and eyes, nose, and mouth are indicated (Fig. 2, *a*, *b*). In some boards the opposite end is carved to represent the legs.

A small bow, called e'yet (Fig. 2, *c*).

A wooden drill, called mă'xem ("arrow"), Fig. 2, *d*.

[1] See Chapter IV, Professional Shamans.

1; Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

A head-piece of stone or of bone, with a shallow socket, called čeñe'yine (Fig. 2, *e*), which is put upon the thin upper end of the drill; while the thick lower end of the drill is set into one of the holes in the board. The head-piece (*e*) is held by one person, the board by another, while the bow is turned by a third person (see Plate VI). The thin end of the wooden drill, and one end of stone head-piece, have holes bored in them, that they may be tied, when not in use, to the straps at the end of the bow (Fig. 2, *c*).

The fire-drill is not complete without a small leather bag filled with small pieces of coal, in which the coal-dust produced by drilling is collected. It is considered a sin to scatter the coal-dust.

The Maritime as well as the Reindeer Koryak consider the sacred fire-board, first of all, the deity of the household fire, the guardian of the family hearth. During important festivals and ceremonies, which will be described later on, fire is obtained by means of these sacred fire-boards.

The other functions of this charm are different among the two groups of Koryak. Among the Maritime Koryak the sacred fire-board is the master of the underground house and the helper in the hunt of sea-mammals, while among the Reindeer people it figures as the master of the herd. The Maritime Koryak call it "father" (a'pa); the Reindeer people, "master of the herd" (qaya'-etl'nvila'n) or "wooden kamak" (otkamak).

At the left side of the house of the Maritime Koryak, near the door leading to the porch, a place is usually set aside for guardians and charms, and it is called the "stake-house" (op-yan). There wooden charms are driven into the ground or set against the wall. The sacred fire-board is the most important among the images of this shrine. It is adorned with a collar made of sedge-grass, which is used in all sacrifices. This collar serves the charm in place of clothing. It is "fed" from time to time by smearing its mouth with fat. This is done not only during festivals that have a direct bearing on its cult, but also on the occasion of all other religious and family festivals. From the sacrificial fat, the soot of the hearth, and the indescribable filth prevailing in the Koryak house, the charm becomes covered with a heavy coat of shining black filth; and the more highly esteemed the charm is, the dirtier and the blacker will it become. When, owing to frequent use, the entire base of the charm is filled with holes, a new board is made. The old one, however, is left, like a deserving veteran, in the place set aside for the sacred objects. When moving from the winter house into the summer house, nearer to the sea, the Maritime Koryak takes his charms along; but sometimes summer and winter house have each their own sacred fire-board. I remember having seen the Koryak Yulta make a new sacred fire-board for his winter house because he had forgotten his old one in the summer house; and when the following summer came, he left the new sacred fire-board in his winter house. In the summer of 1900, when visiting a deserted settlement

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

along the Paren River, I found a sacred fire-board that had been left behind in one of the houses. It was lying on the ground near the wall, covered with dust, among some seal-bones, old dishes, and scraps of clothing.

The sacred fire-board of the Reindeer Koryak, the "master of the herd" (qaya'-etri'nvila'n), is kept during the winter in a bag on a pack-sledge or on the covered sledge, which is occupied during travels by the mother and the small children. When the wandering family makes a stop, the sledges are left outside, near the tent. During the summer the sacred fire-board hangs on a cross-beam in the tent.

Besides the articles enumerated above, that are necessary for obtaining fire by drilling, and the bag for the coal-dust, the "master of the herd" of

Fig. 3. Sacred Fire Implements of the Reindeer Koryak. *a* ($\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{11}$ s), Fire-Board, or "Master of the Herd," with Attachments (length of fire-board, 33 cm.); *b* ($\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{11}$-$\frac{2}{7}\frac{1}{11}$), Attachments from a Fire-Board, representing the Assistants of the "Master of the Herd" (length, 10 cm.).

the Reindeer Koryak is also supplied with a lasso, a watch-dog, a sacrificial ladle, an image of a wolf (Fig. 3, *a*), and several little wooden figures. The sacred fire-board keeps the wolf near him to prevent his assailing the herd, while the little forked figures (Fig. 3, *b*) serve as his assistants in guarding the herd, and are called oya'čiku, which properly means "boys," "fellows," although this word has also the meaning of "laborers" and "herdsmen." The sacred fire-board also secures the herd against sickness, and prevents the

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

532 reindeer from straying away, and, as often happens, from getting lost. When
788 a reindeer is slaughtered, the sacred fire-board is taken out and smeared with
233 blood. Instead of a grass collar, the Reindeer Koryak put on it a tie made of the hair from the mane of a reindeer-buck.

Among the Maritime group, as well as among the Reindeer Koryak, the sacred fire-board is connected with the family welfare, and therefore it must not be carried into a strange house. But if two families join for the winter and live in one house, in order to obviate the necessity of procuring fuel for two houses, both take their own charms along into the common house,
[428] without risk to their effectiveness by so doing. The sacred fire-board is usually transmitted to the younger son, — or to the younger daughter, provided her husband remains in his father-in-law's house and the brothers establish new houses for themselves or raise separate herds. Often fire-boards are found that have outlasted two, three, or more generations.

778 The Drum. — The drum (ya'yai), which, as will be seen later on, plays
534 an important rôle in ceremonials and shamanistic performances, at the same
592 time ranks with the sacred fire-board as one of the guardians of the household. The drum is the master of the sleeping-apartment where it is kept. Every married couple has a drum of their own. A bride who has her own sleeping-tents also possesses her own drum. The drum is especially held in esteem by the Reindeer Koryak. Just as a herd cannot exist without a sacred fire-board, so a family cannot get along without a drum.

778 Kamaks and Kalaks. — A large class of guardian charms are called
342 kamaks and kalaks,[1] — the same names as are applied to the hostile spirits described before.[2] It appears from this that these names do not always signify a thing harmful and evil, like the Yakut word abasy'.[3]

In distinction from the evil spirits, this class of "charm-guardians" are often called otkamak, or okkamak; that is, "wooden kamak." By the Maritime Koryak, the most important place among the wooden kamaks is assigned to the one considered as guardian of the inhabited place. It cannot, however, be called "guardian of the village," in the sense of guardian of the community, since the social organization of the Koryak is so loose that the term "community" cannot very well be applied. The wooden kamak (okkamak) is considered rather as a guardian of the habitation. He is also called Nimyo'lhin, which signifies "habitation," and he appears as a guardian or master of it.

The "guardian of the habitation" has the shape of a post, tapering at the top, and sometimes forked, the thinner branch representing the arm of the charm. It is located close to the village, usually on a hill overlooking

[1] The Koryak plural of kamak is ka'maku. Since kamak has been used with an English plural (Bogoras, Anthropologist, p. 631), the English plural has been used here.

[2] See p. 27.

[3] Abasy' (pl. abasyh'r) means not only "evil spirit," corresponding to the Koryak kala or to the Chukchee kele, but everything harmful in nature.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY 4

it, or on a rock over the sea. It is put up by the founder of the "habitation;" that is, by the one who erects the first house, and is passed by inheritance to the descendants of the founder. As a rule, new settlements were founded by "strong men," heroes. Around the first house, and under his protection, weaker people would settle, usually his relatives by blood or by marriage; and the "guardian of the habitation" would become the common guardian of the settlement. As the latter grew, some of the house-owners would put up habitation-guardians of their own, which were, however, only family guardians. The general guardianship of the settlement belongs to the first guardian erected by the founder. It serves as the intermediary between the inhabitants of the village and the rulers of the sea and of the hunting-grounds. The lower part of the guardian-figure is girded with sacrificial sedge-grass. When the hunt of sea-animals, wild reindeer, and mountain-sheep, is over, the charm is smeared with the blood and the fat of the animals. The top of the charm, from the constant application of fat, turns black, and looks as though it were charred. The charm is also offered sacrifices of horns and antlers of animals killed in the hunt, and whale-vertebræ. On Plate XII, Fig. 1, a photograph is reproduced of the old guardian of the settlement of Kuel, surrounded with sacrifices. The priestly duties in relation to the guardian of the settlement are performed by a descendant of the founder, usually the eldest in the family. He smears the charm with fat, "feeds" it, and adorns it with sacrificial grass. In a year of successful hunt, the charm is sometimes offered a dog as a sacrifice. Fig. 4, represents one of the guardians of the village Big-Itkana, with a slaughtered dog near the charm. In the same village I saw a pup strung up as a sacrifice on the wooden kamak (okkamak) itself (see Plate IX, Fig. 1). The charm was a secondary guardian, the protector of one family, and consisted of a forked branch of a large willow-tree stuck into the ground. The village guardians differ in size, while the guardian of Big-Itkana (Fig 4) is about six feet high, that of Kuel (Plate XII, Fig. 1) is not over two feet.

Fig. 4. Guardian of the Village Big-Itkana, with Sacrificed Dog. (From a photograph.)

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

778 225 Besides the guardian of the settlements, other wooden kamaks, consisting of long, thin tapered poles, are occasionally found in the villages. They are put up on a rock overlooking the sea, after the whale-hunt, by the owner of the skin boat the crew of which killed the whale. The duties of this wooden kamak are to watch the sea, and to attract new whales. Formerly it was customary to put a collar of sacrificial grass on the charm, and string around it offerings consisting of pieces of whale-skin and of blubber. Since at present the Koryak seldom engage in whale-hunting, I did not see any such decorated posts, but only those that had been put up long ago.[1]

532 771 225 There is still another kind of kalaks connected with whale-hunting. These kalaks are also put up after the whale-hunt; and a man who has killed many whales has several of these charms. They are of small dimensions, are kept in the house, and, when the whale-skin is being broiled, are seated or put up around the fireplace to watch the whale-skin, their tapering ends being driven into the ground. The fire on the hearth is regarded as the sea in which floats the whale-skin, representing the whale. If the whale is not watched, it dives into the fire, and disappears under ground, and whale-hunting ceases.

During this ceremony these kalaks are adorned with collars of sacrificial grass, but they are not "fed;" that is, are not smeared with fat, and are not offered any special food. They must help themselves. There are male and female kalaks; and when there are many of them, they form a family. In ordinary times they stand in the shrine set aside for the charms. The form of these kalaks is not the same in all villages. Since there is no whale-hunting at present, the charms are not made now; but I found several of them in Kamenskoye (Va'ikenan) and Talovka (Xe'ɜ-xen). They differ in form. In the village of Kamenskoye they have the shape of sitting figures (Fig. 5, *a-d*), and are usually painted in black: in the settlement of Talovka they have the form of a stick tapering at both ends, with a slight notch for a neck, with indications of eyes, and a line for a mouth (Fig. 5, *e*).[2]

Nets'-Kamak-Face. — This guardian (Ti'ñilat-ka'mak-lō^{e})[3] is made to guard the nets. It helps them to make a great catch, and protects them from the incantations of wicked people. This guardian is smeared with the blood of sea-animals and with blubber. It is kept in the usual place set aside for the charm, and is adorned with sacrificial grass. In winter it is not taken special care of. Like the "village guardian" mentioned above, it is represented as

[1] The following quotation from Krasheninnikoff (II, p. 103) bears witness that the Kamchadal also had wooden kamaks: "The Kamchadal put up a pole on the vast plains of the tundra, tie grass around it, and never pass by without throwing it a piece of fish or something else. Mr. Steller had seen two such posts near Lower Ostrog."

[2] It is interesting to note here that Krasheninnikoff (II, p. 126) speaks of the Kamchadal having small charms with pointed heads, under the name katide. They represent the spirits that enter women while they perform their ritual dances.

[3] Ka'mak-lō^{e} = kamak + lō^{e} ("face"). It refers to the amulets having a human or animal face.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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having only one hand (Fig. 6), possibly because representing the one-sided spirits mentioned in some tales.

Little Kalaks. — The little kalaks (Kala'kpila'qu) correspond to the Chukchee Ta'yñiqut[1] ("misfortune protectors"), and consist of a string or

Fig. 5. Guardians connected with Whale-Hunting. *a–d* (71/1, 71/2, 71/3, 71/4), from Kamenskoye (*a*, *d*, height, 10 cm., 11 cm.; *c*, *d*, length of each, 12 cm.); *e* (71/5a), from Tolovka (length, 52 cm.).

bundle of small figures, which are considered as charms, and correspond somewhat to the rosary of the Catholic Church. Fig. 7, *a*, represents a string of little kalaks made of willow-branches. The forked part is meant for the legs, while the head and face are very crudely indicated. At times forked willow-

[1] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, pp. ix, xxxv.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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twigs having a very remote similarity to human figures serve this purpose. They are also called "protectors" (ine'njulanu). However, this latter term is applied to the entire group of guardian-charms. The people usually wear the little kalaks attached to the belt, when travelling or hunting without companions. The Koryak are afraid to drive or walk alone through the woods or in the wilderness, because they believe that evil spirits (kalau), which haunt such places in large numbers, may easily overcome a lonely traveller. In such cases the little kalaks replace fellow-travellers, and serve as guardians against evil spirits. Another string of guardians (Fig. 7, *b*) contains a small human figure made of grass, charmed beads representing drums, and wolf's and hare's hair braided with sinew-thread. The Reindeer Koryak call the string of guardians okka'mak-lō[a]; that is, "wooden kamak face."[1] A snow-beater of antler, with a handle carved in the form of a raven-beak (Fig. 8), is also regarded as a fellow-traveller and guardian.

Fig. 6 (1/11). Guardian of Nets. Length, 21 cm.

Fig. 7, *a* (1/11), *b* (1/12). Strings of "Little Kalaks," or Guardians. Length of figure, 4 cm.

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The-Searching-Kamak-Face. — This kalak (En·a'yıs-ka'mak-lō[a], literally "the searching kamak face") is the special protector of babies. It is usually sewed to the back of the child's shirt-collar[2] (Fig. 9, *a*). In the village of Paren I obtained such a protector attached to a strap (Fig. 9, *b*), which the child used to wear around the neck, under the shirt, like a cross; but

[1] See p. 38, Footnote 3.

[2] It is interesting to compare this with the custom of the Eskimo of Baffin Land, where a woman who is with child wears an amulet attached to the back of her inner shirt (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 143); and among the Central Eskimo, amulets are always worn on the middle of the back of the inner jacket (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 592).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

the figure of the guardian rested on the child's back. Two little bags with fragments of stone arrow-points were also attached to the strap; but their meaning is not clear. The-Searching-Kamak-Face guards, keeps in place, or restores the child's soul, which may leave the body or go astray. Small children are

Fig. 8 ($\frac{2}{11}$). Snow-Beater serving as Guardian. Length, 54 cm.

especially subject to assaults of evil spirits, and the souls frightened by the latter desert the bodies. When children are asleep, their souls also leave their bodies, and lose their way. In such cases The-Searching-Kamak-Face catches them, and puts them back in place.

Although the 'searching little charm' is, like the Roman *genius*, an individual protector of the child that wears it, it is to be regarded as one of the

Fig. 9, *a* ($\frac{2}{11}$), *b* ($\frac{2}{11}$). Child's Guardians. Length of *a*, 10 cm.

family *penates*. It is transmitted by inheritance. The older it is, the more powerful does it become. When a child is born in a family, the charm is taken off from the older child, and sewed to the clothing of the new-born child. A new charm is made only in case the family divides.

THE SKIN BOAT AND ITS CHARMS. — Among the rest of the family deities, the skin boat, as an implement for procuring food, is an important guardian of the family hearth. Being closely linked with the family cult of the Maritime Koryak, the skin boat cannot belong to two households that are not mutually connected by ties of consanguinity. Neither can it be sold, or given temporarily to strangers. As one of the household *penates*, it is the source of the family's welfare. The owner of the skin boat generally takes along strangers,

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

778 592 501 from among those who do not own a boat, to assist him in his hunt; for not all families are in possession of a skin boat. It is considered a sign of prosperity to own one. The assistants get a share of the product, but are regarded simply as laborers, who work for their master. Sometimes they will give the owner of the skin boat seal-skins to mend the boat; but these are looked upon as presents to the owner of the boat, and he may dispose of them in any manner he may see fit. The first launching of the boat in the spring, and the last beaching in the fall, when it is to be put away for the winter, are considered as family festivals among the Maritime Koryak.

Charmed forked alder-twigs called iklō′ (*sing.* i′kla) are prepared in the spring, when the skin boat is launched, and are placed in the prow of the boat (Fig. 10, *a*). They are the comrades and assistants of the skin boat, and are supposed to attract whales and other sea-animals to it. In the village of Kamenskoye the "guardians" of the whale-skin are also called iklō.[1]

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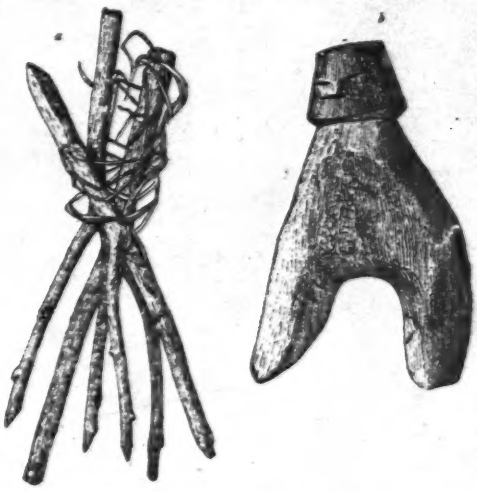

Fig. 10. Guardians of the Skin Boat. *a* ($\frac{1}{11\frac{1}{10}}$), Forked Alder-Twigs representing Guardians in Human Shape (length, 23 cm.); *b* ($\frac{1}{11\frac{1}{10}}$), Attachment to the Prow, representing the Manager of the Boat (length, 20 cm.).

On the upper end of the prow of the boat is a small forked figure, placed with legs pointing upward, over which the harpoon-thong is pulled. A face is carved on the opposite end. It is considered the manager of the skin boat. The specimen here figured (Fig. 10, *b*) was an old boat-charm which, having been worn out by use, had been replaced by a new one, and which was deposited among the other *penates* of the house.

778 417 342 THE LADDER. — The ladder which is used for the entrance into the winter house of the Maritime Koryak is also classed among the guardians of the house. A crudely carved human face is represented on the top of the ladder (Fig. 11). It is called Old-Woman (ı′n·pa-ña′ut). This guardian is apparently a woman. The image is also called Ye′ltitkin; that is, "the head of the ladder." The ladder is the master of the house-entrance. It is supposed not to allow any kamaks to get in. When the house is temporarily deserted, — for instance, when the people move to

[1] See p. 38.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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their summer dwellings, — the Maritime Koryak pray to the ladder not to let any strangers or ill-meaning people enter the house. In the fall of 1900, when I arrived at the winter village of Paren, it was deserted. The inhabitants were still in their summer houses. I wished to inspect the winter houses; but my interpreter (a Russianized Koryak) and Cossack were afraid to descend into them until I had gone in and come back unmolested. From time to time the ladder is smeared with seal-blubber and other fat.

Fig. 11. Model of a House Ladder.

Sacred Arrows. — Freqently an arrow, given as an offering after a wolf has been killed, is found among the guardians of the fireplace. Such an arrow (I°lhun) is either driven into the ground at its butt-end, or it is tied to a pointed stick, which is driven into the ground, near the hearth. One of these sacred arrows is shown in Fig. 12. I obtained it in the Talovka settlement. It was completely blackened from the soot of the hearth.

The Sun-Worm. — The doll shown in Fig. 13 represents a guardian of women. It is hung up in the family sleeping-tent, and protects lying-in women, and also prevents sterility. It is

Fig. 12 ($\frac{1}{11\frac{1}{2}}$). Sacred Arrow. Length, 66 cm.

called The-Vivifying-One (Yeytele'ličiča°n). The women of the village of Kamenskoye, where I found this guardian, told me that a "worm" is sewed up in it. This "worm" is believed to fall down from the sky into the bag which women carry on their backs while digging roots. It then becomes the guardian of the woman into whose bag it falls. They call it Sun-Worm (Tiyk-Eli'ggi). I think this belief may be explained by the fact that in the spring caterpillars fall from the trees, and thus sometimes get into the baskets that women wear on the back while walking in the woods, picking dry branches, and digging up roots.

Fig. 13 ($\frac{1}{11\frac{1}{2}}$). Woman's Guardian. Length of doll, 11 cm.

Special House-Guardians. — Some charms are called House-Kamak-Face (Yaya'-kamak-lō°), and represent special house-guardians. Two of these are represented in Fig. 14. The one marked *a* I got in the village of Kuel, and the other in the village of Paren. As the guardian of the house is regarded as the sacred board of the fire-making implements, it would seem that House-Kamak-Face is a supplementary protector of the dwelling, but not of the hearth. The guardian of the dwelling (Yaya'-Kamak-lō) is placed in the shrine (op-yan) and fed on different occasions.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4

of the dwelling (Yaya'-kamak-lō) is placed in the shrine (op-yan) and fed on different occasions.

DIVINING-STONES. — The divining-stone plays an important part in the ritualistic life of the Koryak. Like all the guardians, the divining-stone constitutes a necessary attribute of the family hearth. Divining is practised at all ceremonies, — when a child is given a name, before starting on a journey, after a death, during the whale festival, etc. The divining-stone is sewed up in a leather bag (Fig. 15), and a number of charms are frequently attached

Fig. 14, *a* ($\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{7}$), *b* ($\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{7}$). Special House Guardians. Length, 25 cm., 27 cm.

Fig. 15 ($\frac{1}{10}\frac{1}{7}$). Divining-Stone. Total length, 28 cm.

to it. When in use, it is hung on a stick, a question is put, and the stick is lifted. If the stone does not move, it means that the answer is in the negative. If it swings, it indicates an affirmative answer. Sometimes two or three sticks are tied together, and the stone is hung from the point where they are joined. By inclining this support, the stone is enabled to swing. Divining-stones are rounded pebbles picked up on the river-banks, but selected by experienced men or shamans. Before they are used, a spell is wrought over them. The divining-stone is called an·a'pel or an·a'pila'qu ("little grandmother").

AMULETS. — All objects over which incantations are uttered are called ewya'nwičō (ewya'na signifies "conjuring," endowing with supernatural power"), and serve as amulets. In this sense, all the Koryak *penates* and guardians

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

It is worn around the neck. It consists of a thong braided together with reindeer-hair, and beads strung on it. Sometimes a guardian representing a human figure or some animal is appended to such an amulet (Fig. 17, *b*).

Tattooing, so far as it is not done as a matter of fashion, is also to be classed with amulets. Aching parts of the body are tattooed in order to drive away the pain. Tattooing is thus made to serve as an amulet or guardian. The design of the tattooing frequently represents a human figure. The method of tattooing is the following. Pounded charcoal is mixed with oil. A thin sinew thread twisted with a woman's hair is blackened in it, and then, by means of a fine needle, is drawn through the skin. This kind of tattooing is called gen'plin ("pierced"). It is practised on women as well as on men: while tattooing as an adornment is practised on women only, and is called lō'-ke'le ("face-painting"). Some women tattoo the face as a charm against barrenness.

The method of charming amulets and making incantations will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.[1]

General Remarks. — We have seen that the majority of the guardians are family deities. Only the guardian of the habitation has a tendency to become a village protectors. On the other hand, only amulets against diseases, and a certain kind of tattooing, figure as guardians of individuals. All the other guardians are closely connected with the household fireplace and the welfare of the family. They cannot be transferred into a family of strangers; but they may be temporarily engaged by one or another of the members of the family.

[1] See pp. 59-64.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

796 which was a small cup filled with water (Fig. 30, *b*), which was changed every day during the festival; and on a grass bag were small boiled pieces of the nostrils, lips, flippers, and tail of the white whale. The little cup is called e'naxla-ko'iñin ("for a friend a cup"). A similar cup, used in the whale festival, is represented in Fig. 30, *c*. The sacrificial parts are called tayñinya'ñvo ("desired [pieces]"); that is, the choicest. It is interesting to note that the sacrifice to the spirit of the animal consists of parts of its own body, while, on the other hand, these parts represent the white whale itself.

[78]

Fig. 30. *a* ($\frac{1}{7}\frac{8}{7}$), *b* ($\frac{1}{7}\frac{8}{7}$), *c* ($\frac{1}{7}\frac{8}{7}$). Wooden Image of a Whale, and Sacrificial Cups used at the Whale Festival. Length, 21 cm., 17 cm., 8.5 cm.

It was very quiet in the house. The people spoke in whispers, and the host pointed out a place for us in front of the shrine. We sat down on the log which separates the sleeping-place from the middle of the house. The interior of the house had a strange, mysterious, and at the same time a depressing look. There was no fire on the hearth; the coals were only smouldering. Eight stone lamps on wooden stands, the number corresponding to the number of families that participated in the festival, were burning with smoking flames all around the house, where the walls are slanting, and gave off a very unpleasant smell of seal-oil. Their light was lost in the darkness of the vast underground house, the largest in the village. The walls, black from soot, completely absorbed the light of the lamps, and it was very difficult to discern the figures of the women, who were busy cooking. The men and the children were sitting motionless in the middle of the house. All were silent, or spoke in whispers, for fear of awaking the guest before it was time.

At last the preparatory cooking was done, and all went outside, since, during the ceremonies of that evening, no one was allowed to leave the house. Soon all returned, and each family brought a bundle of fagots, and they built a large fire on the hearth, which lighted the house, and made it appear less gloomy than before. Amid the silence that was still reigning, the women placed near the fire kettles, brought from their homes, and melted in them the blubber of the white whale and seals. The women continued to whisper one to another. After the oil was tried out, they went back, each to her

J. Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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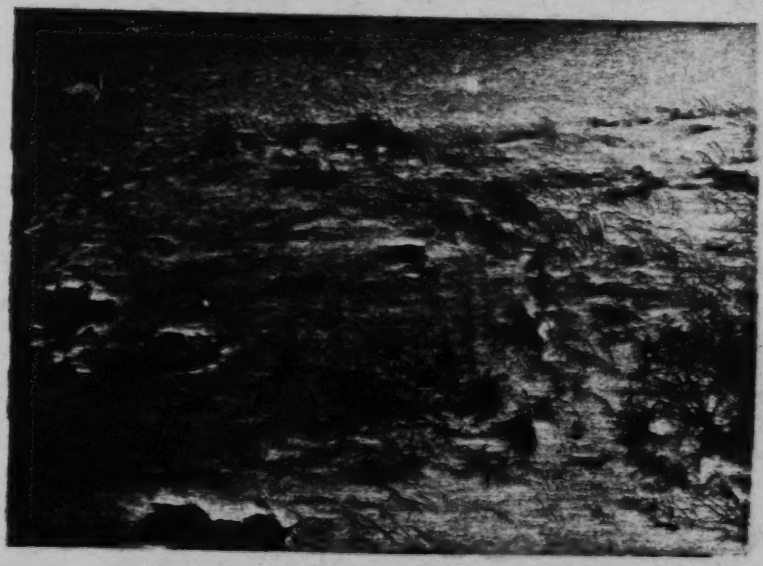

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The Koryak.

[Facing p. 96: C]

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

782 along the bank of the Paren River were stakes driven into the snow, with dogs hanging on them, their muzzles pointing upward and the ventral side of the body facing east. In the light of the spring sun, this long row of dog-sacrifices offered a queer and sad sight. Part of this row is represented on Plate VIII, Fig. 2. I found out that the greater part of the dogs had been killed by the drivers of the sledges which I had hired, in gratitude for their safe return from the Russian settlement Gishiginsk, and to guard their village against the spirit of measles, which a year previous had come to them from that little town. Since every driver charged me but six rubles[1] for the drive to Gishiga, the sacrifice cost him more than he had earned.

Of course, from their own point of view, the Koryak have just as much right to sacrifice their dogs for the sake of their own welfare as we have to kill cattle to support our existence; but I never felt so sad on account of human delusions as when, approaching the settlement, I suddenly saw several dozen stakes with needlessly killed animals hung to them.

Only in the village of Big Itkana had I an opportunity to witness the offering of bloody sacrifices to the kalaks representing guardians of the settlement (see Fig. 4 p. 37; also Plate IX, Fig. 1).

779 Sacrifices offered to the sacr[illegible] hills and rocks (apa'pel, "grandfathers") — which are regarded as guardians of roads, and protectors 782 of hunting — are placed on their summits or slopes. These may be dogs, or antlers of sacrificed reindeer. Plate XI, Fig. 2, (opp. p. 96), represents the sacred hill, situated on the seashore, close to the settlement of Mikino, in the direction of Kamenskoye. One of my drivers told me that this "grandfather" was very favorable to him. Once, when passing by, he had thrown a puppy to him, and on his way back he was met by a gray fox which was running to him, and which he killed with a stick.

Fig. 42 (1184). Bone Comb for preparing Sacrificial Sedge-Grass. Length, 22 cm.

782 314 Bloodless Sacrifices. — Bloodless sacrifices in the form of sacrificial grass, berries, blubber, meat, tobacco, tea, sugar, and other edibles, also of ornaments, are made to the fire, to the "owners," to the dead, and to the kalak-idols. Only the guardian of the settlement sometimes receives a dog-sacrifice. Besides this, the antlers of wild reindeer are piled up in front [321] of it, since they are also regarded as sacrificial offerings (see Plate XII, Fig. 1).[2]

Sacrificial sedge-grass is in use only among the Maritime Koryak. They comb it with a bidentate bone comb (see Fig. 42), which renders it as soft as flax, and make wreaths and necklaces out of it. According to Kraheninnikoff, the Kamchadal used sacrificial grass for the same purpose.

[1] The distance between Paren and Gishiginsk is a hundred and fifty verst, or ninety-nine English miles.

[2] See also p. 37.

Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Koryak R74

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Pacific Village Scenes, with [illegible]

R74

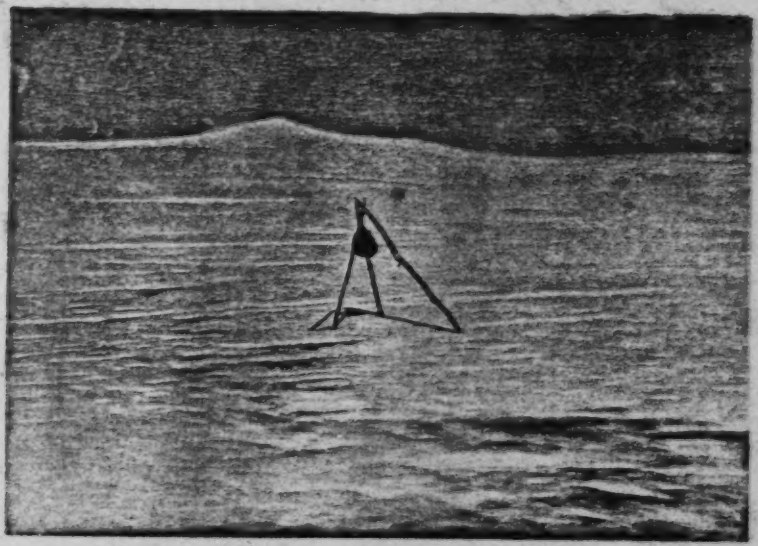

FIG. 2. DISPOSITION OF AFTER-BIRTH.

[Facing p. 97]

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

which are sent to the dead in the next world. At present the Reindeer Koryak of Taigonos content themselves, on the whole, with sending presents to the next world by those who have died recently, as is done by the Maritime Koryak. I have not observed any other manifestations of an ancestral cult among the Koryak. There are indications that other forms of disposing of the dead once existed. Two small rough wooden carvings representing female figures (Fig. 56) — one with a child on her back, and the other one with two children (one on her back, and the other at her breast) — were obtained by Mr. Bogoras of two Koryak women from Alutor, who laughed, when giving them away to him, as one would laugh at a thing which has lost all its sacredness. According to the statement of these women, however, the figures represent

Fig. 56, *a* ($\frac{21071}{21}$), *b* ($\frac{21072}{21}$). Wooden Figures representing Female Ancestors. Length, 20.5 cm., 20 cm.

their female ancestor, who was buried, or, to be more exact, who was left dead in her house, together with her child. That such a form of disposing of the dead was in existence in olden times, may also be observed from the myths [1] and from one tradition about Big-Raven (Quikinn·a'qu), according to which he requested his children to leave him alone in his house after his death.

[1] Tale 65.

I: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RYU Koryak RYU

3. Capella in the constellation of Auriga, Yeke'ñelaqlin ("driving with reindeer"). 773
4. The belt of Orion, Ena'nvenanāñ (*"the handle of a scraper") or Ulveiyinitila'n ("he who carries the bow across"). 821
5. The Polar Star, Ačka'p-aña'ī ("nail-star").
6. The Morning Star, Pe'geten ("suspended breath").
7. The Milky Way, Ya''veyem ("clay river").

Fig. 58 represents a map of the starry sky drawn by the Koryak Ače'pin of Kamenskoye. In addition to the Milky Way, he seemed to know the following constellations and stars only: (1) Ursa Major, (2) the Polar Star, (3) the Pleiades, and (4) Orion. Besides, the last two constellations are placed on the left side of his map, instead of on the right. Apparently Ače'pin, who drew that map, made a mistake when transferring the stars from the vaulted sky to the map.

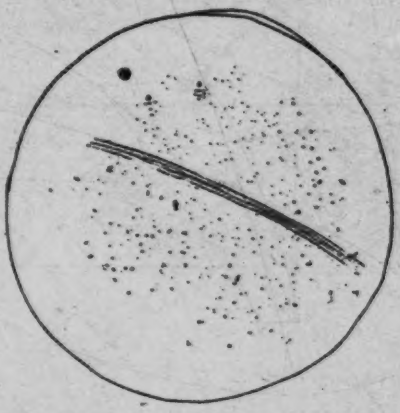

Fig. 58. Koryak Sketch representing Star Map.

The wind and the fog are also regarded as men living in settlements. Thus Wind-Man is called Kitt'hımtıla'n or Kıtty-nı'myisa'n ("inhabitant of the village of the winds"); while Fog-Man is called Yıña'mtıla'n, and Fog-Woman, Yıña'm-ña'ut.

There is no doubt that the primitive views of nature held by the Koryak are gradually breaking down. In spite of the fact that the Koryak come in contact only with the lowest representatives of Russian civilization, and that even the formal side of Christianity is being adopted by them very slowly, the new ideas presented in the mode of life of the Russians are destroying the Koryak beliefs at an ever-accelerating rate. Their religion is dwindling down to the mere observation of rites and of taboos the meaning of which is gradually being lost; and their religious myths are changing into meaningless tales and fables, or are being forgotten entirely. 773 177

It is very interesting to note that a critical attitude toward the ancient customs does not find equal expression in all places. For instance, the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula have assumed a critical attitude toward the sacred fire-board. Their official chief told me that he has no longer a sacred fire-board, that he prefers to have real shepherds for his herd. He considers the drum, however, not only a family guardian, but also the guardian of the herd. I was unable to acquire for the collection an old drum from the Taigonos 779 177

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

778 Koryak. In Kamenskoye the sacred fire-board is still treated with respect;
177 but the significance of the drum as a sacred heirloom of the family has declined, and I was able to acquire drums for the collection, all of which are ancient family drums. I have said before that indifference toward old customs may be observed more clearly in places nearer Kamchatka than in those near the Russian settlement on the Gishiga River. Near Kamchatka, for instance, in Kamenskoye, families may be found, which, though not baptized, show an inclination to acquire Russian customs. There are a few such families in Kamenskoye. They try to establish friendship with the Russians, and criticise
771 their own customs without constraint. Thus the old man Yulta told me, as a
177 proof that dog-sacrifices do not serve any useful purpose, how his people were once chasing in a skin boat after a whale, and could not come near enough to throw the harpoon. Then they killed a dog as a sacrifice; but the whale got still farther away from them. His scepticism, however, did not prevent him from killing a dog the next day, on the occasion of his son's departure. In the entire settlement, which consisted of thirty families, there is only one Koryak, Qačʻlqut, who has adopted Christianity. To welcome a Russian he puts on a fur jacket made after Russian fashion; and when he comes to a Russian house, he makes the sign of the cross with an air of great importance before the images of the saints of the Greek Catholic Church without knowing, however, how to fold his fingers properly. Nevertheless he has two wives, and kills dogs as sacrifices to The-Master-on-High. When I asked him once how it was that he, a Christian, made dog-offerings, he replied, that since he became converted, he killed only puppies, but not large dogs. This was a half-serious reply; it would seem that he thus thought to reconcile the two religions. All this, however, tends to the destruction of the former religion; and were it not for the low level of culture among the Russian settlers themselves, and the ignorance of the local orthodox clergy, the Russianization of the Koryak would proceed at a much more rapid rate than it does at present.

16: According to the census of 1897,[1] out of a total of 7530 Koryak, 3387
77 were baptized; i. e., 45 per cent. They were distributed among the districts as follows: —

	Christians.	*Pagans.*
Gishiga	1416	3018
Petropavlovsk	1727	948
Okhotsk	244	0
Anadyr	0	177

Of course a great many of the baptized are Christians only in name.

[1] See Patkanov, p. 21.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4

532 517 321

to be carried on a strap, and to serve as a toy, not as a specimen of real art. This explains why the figure has no finish. The face of this figure is perfectly flat.[1] Fig. 174, *b*, also appears to represent a woman. The occurrence of engraved and etched concentric and single circles, dots, and lines, which are common ornaments on the animals carved from ivory by the western Eskimo, are to be noted on this figure, and also the suggestion of an Eskimo woman's jacket, with its characteristic hood and front flap. On the back the row of circles with dots is continued by two more circles on each side, leaving the middle of the back, just over the legs, undecorated. Over this row is another horizontal row of five circles with dots, which extend over the back from arm to arm. The collar-like shoulder-part is continued over the back with a slight curve downward. The space between the double line, which is continued from the front over the shoulders, and the sharp lower edge of the garment, is occupied by a line of seven black dots which slant a little upward from left to right. On the middle of the hood at the back are two circles with dots, — one over the other, — and a number of vertical lines of dots which curve forward at their lower ends. This figure probably represents an Eskimo woman, or it may have been made by an Eskimo artist.

a *b*

Fig. 174. Ivory Carvings. *a* ($\frac{2}{3}$). Woman and Child (height, 2.5 cm.); *b* ($\frac{2}{3}$). Woman in Fur Dress (height, 6.5 cm.).

In connection with the various Koryak carvings, the wooden figures of men should be mentioned, made without any artistic finish, with their extremities on pivots, like mechanical dolls. These figures serve as toys for children, and are to be found also among the Chukchee.[2]

532 778 517

At a previous place I called attention to the crudeness of the images and the conventionality of the figures of idols and amulets.[3] Compared with the carvings of the Koryak of the coast of Bering Sea, the images of their anthropomorphic "guardians" appear like the products of a backward tribe.[4] In connection with this question, I advance the hypothesis that the cause of the crudeness of religious carvings lies in the vague conception of the artist as to the appearance of the invisible anthropomorphic beings. Between the

[1] Compare Part I. Fig. 56, p. 114.

[2] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XXI, Fig. 7.

[3] See Part I. p. 115.

[4] In a note published in C. Lumholtz's Decorative Art of the Huichol Indians, Professor Boas discusses the crudeness of amulets and other sacred objects, as compared to the elaborate finish of objects of art. He calls attention to this phenomenon among the Huichol Indians, the Gold, the Gilyak, and other tribes (see Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History. Vol. III. p. 287).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

two classes of carvings, the religious and the realistic, there are, of course, intermediate stages, especially in carvings that serve practical purposes; but, in so far as realistic sculpture aims to afford pleasure, it has a development independent of religion: its only source is in the æsthetic need of man.

Of course, all our wants, both material and spiritual, influence each other to a certain extent. So religious ideas have almost always influenced the character of art, and the influence has generally been detrimental.[1] I even go so far as to think that the symbolic tendency in the plastic art of the Indians of the North Pacific coast is also due, to a certain extent, to religious ideas. The symbolism of these Indians in sculpture is a perversion of true realistic art. The high technique displayed by Indian artists in their carvings of masks, helmets, and other articles, clearly proves that realistic representations of animals are not beyond their power.[2]

Professor Boas explains the symbolic tendency of the Northwestern Indians by the dependence of the art of sculpture on the material, — that is, that, since it serves for decorative purposes, the subject to be represented is more or less subordinate to the object on which it is shown,[3] — but it is quite possible that the symbolism of the carvings made in connection with totem-posts was due to a vague conception, on the part of the artists, of the totem ancestors, whom they imagined now as real animals, and now in anthropomorphic form. The only features which are essential, therefore, for the recognition of the ancestor, are those that are most characteristic of his animal state, at the expense of the secondary features. The application to the human face, of the characteristic features of the head of the animal which serves as a totem, may be explained in the same way.

Carvings representing Animals. — In the archæologic remains of the stone age of the Old and New Worlds we find, among works of primitive art, representations mainly of human figures, and very few of animals. In the miniature sculpture of the Eskimo, principally made of ivory, we see, on the contrary, a tendency to reproduce mostly animal forms; but in the Chukchee and Koryak carvings we find, side by side with animal forms, also those of human beings.

Carvings of human beings have been described in the preceding pages. I shall now take up specimens of carvings of animals. Here I must repeat what I have already said, that the carvings of animals among the Koryak and Chukchee are much less frequently adapted to definite purposes than they

[1] Taking our illustrations from the history of the sculpture of civilized nations, we see, that, among the Greeks, religious ideas corresponded with the requirements of realistic art; Buddhism, and to a certain extent Christianity, introduced a great deal of conventionalism into sculpture; while the Semitic religion entirely suppressed this branch of art.

[2] See Boas, The Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast (Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, 1897, Vol. IX, p. 124).

[3] Ibid., pp. 123—176.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY 4.

the animals are imperfectly made, although these carvings represent the work of the best artists. It should be said, however, that the unmounted animal carvings could not stand if the feet were made properly. To give them greater stability, the feet of the two sheep (*e*, *f*) are not entirely separated. On the other hand, the flippers of the sea-lions on the ice-floe, which serves as a stand (*a*), are finished very vividly as compared with those of the single sea-lion without stand (*d*). On the whole, however, the position and the motion of the animals of the carvings are rendered with such realism as to call forth vividly its picture in the mind of the spectator, and they testify to the great skill and æsthetic taste of the artist.

In comparison with these specimens, the carvings of Chukchee artists are of far inferior artistic merit.[1] Even more inferior than these specimens are the Eskimo carvings of animals made at different places, and obtained by different collectors, although the nature of the Eskimo carvings, and the method of working them, are exactly the same as those of the Chukchee and Koryak.[2]

Among the Koryak carvings we do not find, for reasons which are perfectly apparent, any figures of the polar bear; but we do find them among the Chukchee;[3] and it is remarkable that the Chukchee carvings of this animal, judging from the specimens reproduced by Bogoras, are distinguished by the same artistic faults as those made by the Eskimo. Without explicit description, it is difficult to recognize the polar bear in the Eskimo carvings intended to represent that animal.

The walrus and seal are very vividly reproduced in Koryak carvings; but the figures of whales are lifeless, and resemble very much the Eskimo carvings of whales (compare, for instance, the wooden whale in Part I, Fig. 30, *a*, p. 72, with the Eskimo figures of whales).[4] However, the whale reproduced on p. 72 is made for a religious ceremony; and carvings made for religious purposes are, as I have said, inferior to those made for æsthetic purposes. This becomes especially clear when comparing, for instance, the realistic figure of a bear in the carving in Fig. 175, *b*, with the crude wooden bear made for a festival on the occasion of a bear-hunt.[5] Artistic carvings are produced only by men endowed with special skill and with a leaning towards art, while religious carvings are made by any Koryak.

Fig. 176 represents fishes, a worm, and a grasshopper. Three of these (*a*, *d*, and *e*) are made from walrus-tusk, one (*b*) from mammoth-ivory, one (*c*)

[1] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plates XIX en dash XXI.

[2] Compare Boas, Central Eskimo, Plate IX, opp. p. 653; Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 113. See also Murdoch, The Point Barrow Eskimo, pp. 398–401; Nelson, The Eskimo about Bering Strait, pp. 345, 346; E. Bessels, Die amerikanische Nordpol-Expedition, p. 108.

[3] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XX, Fig. 4.

[4] See Murdoch, p. 403, Fig. 407; Boas, Central Eskimo, Plate VIII, opp. p. 652.

[5] See Part I, Fig. 39, p. 88.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

531 171 ladle, and boxes for harpoon-heads, in the form of whales;[1] and among the Eskimo of Hudson Bay we find ivory needle-cases carved in the form of whales.[2]

531 517 778 I believe that the æsthetic taste is as strong and spontaneous a longing of primitive man as are beliefs. Whoever has lived among primitive people knows well how strong is their passion for all kinds of ornaments. In one of his stories from the life of the Chukchee, Mr. Bogoras pictures a hunch-back shepherd gathering variegated pebbles, and spending his leisure time in laying them out in different combinations for his own pleasure.[3] Mr. Bogoras told me personally that the incident was drawn from real life. Undoubtedly there are cases when an article which first served as an amulet becomes, in the course of time, an ornament; but there are cases, on the other hand, when an article of art becomes an amulet later on. For that reason we must prove in each particular case the course of inter-action of the two psychological factors, — the religious and the æsthetic, — and this it is not always easy to settle. Taking, for instance, the wooden figure of the whale for the whale festival,[4] it is difficult to tell whether the whale-carving was first made from a mere desire on the part of the artist to imitate nature, or whether the necessities of the ritual furnished the impetus for carving the whale. Personally I am inclined to the former hypothesis. We find a similar phenomenon in the Eskimo custom of putting the carving of a whale into the mouth of a new-born male infant in order to make him a good hunter.[5]

In the Koryak carvings, and to a certain extent in those of the Eskimo, in so far as they are not adapted to practical wants, we have an excellent illustration of the spontaneous development of primitive art independent of religion. Those amulets which consist of wooden limbs or parts of animals, instead of the entire animal, cannot be classed with pure art, because they serve, not as expressions of real sense-impressions, but of vague ideas of anthropomorphism and the substitution of a part for a whole. This accounts for the crudeness of the images of Koryak idols, as pointed out by me before, which distinguishes them from carvings made for the pleasure of carving. Ornamental carving still retains in many cases the realism and the finesse of art for art's sake: such as, for instance, the mountain-sheep on the spoon illustrated in Fig. 184, *b*.

532 524 Less attention is paid to finish and realism in the carving of toys. A large number of objects in miniature carving, used as toys, are very poorly executed. These objects can easily be recognized by the hole made in them, by means of which they can be strung on a thong. Children quite frequently

[1] See Murdoch, Fig. 45, p. 105; Fig. 252, p. 249.
[2] See Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, Fig. 136, p. 93.
[3] Tan -oom-de-piame of Mr. Bogoras), Sketches and Stories, Vol. III, Chukchee Stories (St. Petersburg, 1900), p. 120.
[4] See Part I, Fig. 30, *a*, p. 72.
[5] See Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 160; Nelson, p. 290.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

the master to provide them with food and with skins for clothes. Able herdsmen would receive reindeer as presents from the master. In the further progress of these relations, the rich possessors of herds might have consolidated into an hereditary ruling class. This was prevented solely by the low character of the reindeer-culture. Frequent reindeer-pests, against which these primitive reindeer-breeders were and still are powerless, suddenly transformed rich herdsmen into beggars.

The life of the masters was in no way different from the life of the poor herdsmen. The latter were not considered a lower class. Good herdsmen could expect not only to marry the master's daughter, as they do up to the present time, but to receive from the master a part of his herd. In one myth[1] we are told that Big-Raven handed over to his son-in-law the larger half of his herd, the latter having proved himself a good herdsman. In another tale Big-Raven presents a part of his herd to the herdsman simply on account of his being a faithful worker.[2]

The Koryak say that in ancient times the rich and the strong men held slaves. These remained at home, and were employed for different kinds of housework, and under the supervision of the women. It is difficult to ascertain in how far they were the property of the conquerors, and whether they could be bought and sold. In my opinion, slavery as a regulated institution could hardly have existed to any great extent; for, as intimated above, the Koryak had little faith in their captives, and generally put them to death, fearing their vengeance.

In this connection, a myth in which it is related that parents gave to their married daughter one woman for cooking and one for sewing,[3] is of interest. These women, of course, could not have been hired servants in the modern sense, but must have been slaves with whom the masters could do as they pleased.

PRESENT FORMS OF SOCIAL LIFE. — I have already referred to the deteriorating influence which contact with the Russians has had on the development of the social relations of the Koryak. Relative security, with the cessation of wars and the waning of superstitions, weakened or eliminated the anti-social tendency towards the isolation of individual families. Such customs as the guarding of the family hearth against contact with objects belonging to other families, are now, under Russian influence, either but partly observed or they have been completely abandoned.

In the settlement Itkana, for instance, the only time when the family fire cannot be taken to another house is while fishing is going on, as this might turn the luck of the fishermen; but it may be carried in other seasons of the year. Kettles and teapots, on the other hand, are carried to other houses and back again at any season.

[1] See Part I, p. 269. [2] Ibid., p. 268. [3] Ibid., p. 209, No. 52.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 · Koryak RY4

In Kuel the only season when fire, as well as the drum, cannot be taken to another house, is the winter, obviously for the reason that the fire and the drum as family protectors are most needed in winter, when the kalau most frequently visit human habitations. The Reindeer Koryak on the Tʻlqai have abandoned all taboos referring to the fire and to the drum. The Reindeer Koryak on the Palpal have no interdict against taking the drum to another house; the fire, however, they allow to be carried to the houses of relatives only. On the Taigonos, ordinary fire may be taken to another house, but not the sacred fire obtained by drilling.

The skin boat, in all non-Russianized villages, still forms part of the family cult, and it can belong to but one family.[1] The sacrificial grass and the alder-branches which are hung on the frame of the skin boat when it is put away for the winter, must not be taken to another house.[2] In spring, when the seal-skin cover is again put on the boat-frame, and the skin boat is made ready for the sea, the possessor of the boat burns the sacrificial grass and the branches at his hearth.

Russian influence has, on the other hand, also hampered the development of some social factors, or has given them a new direction. Owing to increased security, the tendency to form unions between settlements, camps, and other groups, for the purpose of protection against enemies, has disappeared.

In the concluding chapter I shall give a short history of the conquest and final subjection of the Koryak by the Russians. Here I will speak of the present social standing of the so-called "elders" (Russian, starosta [старости]). The obligations of the non-Russianized Koryak to the Russian Administration consist in the payment of a tribute called yasak, and in free transportation given by them to Russian officials. Mail also used to be carried without pay, but recently the Government has fixed a fee for its transportation. To enforce the duties imposed on the natives, men responsible for them had to be appointed. For this purpose the Koryak were divided into "clans" (Russian, roʻdy [роды, *sing.* родъ]).[3] These were purely territorial groups, lacking the ties of common origin; and the name "clans" given to them is quite artificial. For instance, some settlement of the Maritime Koryak, or a group of Reindeer Koryak camping within the limits of a certain locality, were called clans. At the present time these clans have ceased to be even territorial groups; for, since the lists of families belonging to this or that group were first compiled, many families have moved to another settlement or migrated to another locality. The officials mistook the loose social structure of the Koryak for a fully developed social organization, like that of other Siberian peoples (the Yakut or Tungus, for instance), whose elders were elected by the members of the clan or occupied hereditary positions. The territorial groups of the

[1] See Part I, p. 41; p. 747. [2] See Part I, p. 78; and Plate VII, Fig. 1, opp. p. 80. [3] See pp. 433–443

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Among the reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy there were associations of families with small reindeer herds, bound by blood or affinal kinship. The typical correlation of reindeer in a herd owned in common by five households was: 5% + 10% + 20% + 25% + 30% = 90%. The other 10% of the herd usually belonged to sedentary relatives of the reindeer-breeders. Property inequality among the Alyutortsy was less pronounced than it was among the Chavchuvens. There were only a few cases where one of the co-owners in the association owned as much as 60% of the combined herd.

Thus, the backward forms of the Koryaks' subsistence economy fostered the preservation of communal relations among them.

The existence of clan relations among the Koryaks in the past is indicated by a number of aspects of their social life, and particularly by their family and marital ceremonials, which persisted into the first quarter of the 20th century. Among the survivals of clan organization we must note the custom of mutual assistance among related families, the custom forbidding outsiders to use the fire of an unrelated family, the residence (according to 18th-19th-century sources) of several related families in the same dwelling, the custom of vendetta, which survived until the early years of the 20th century, etc. In addition, the coastal Koryaks still retained traces of the institution of elders. In some of the villages there were persons called nym'elgen-an—"the guardian of the place," "the guardian of the past." This position could be held only by a man who was considered a descendant of the founder of the village. Each group of Koryaks headed by a nym'elgen-an had its own wooden image. In addition to the general designation of nym'elgen, the image also had its own name. Some of these names ("swallow," "duck") were of totemic character. Sacrifices were made to the images; they were "fed" and "dressed" in grass clothing.

Family relations at the end of the 19th century were based on patriarchal norms (patrilineal kinship, inheritance from father to son, patrilocal marriage). Along with this, there were survivals of matriarchy, the most distinct of which was the granting of children to the mother in case of divorce.

Among the remnants of extinct forms of group marriage were the surviving custom of the sororate, according to which a widower must marry the younger sister, younger cousin or niece of his dead wife, and the custom of the levirate, according to which a younger brother had to marry the widow of his older brother; in the absence of a brother, this duty devolved on the nephew or cousin of the dead husband. However, such survivals of group marriage as the Chukchi "association by wife" were already unknown among the Koryaks in the 18th century.

The most common method of contracting a marriage was by working for the wife. Under this custom, the groom had to work from 2-3 months to three years in the family of his future father-in-law, taking part in tending reindeer and other tasks. After the expiration of the work period, the groom performed the so-called ceremony of "catching the bride": the bride ran about in the house, and the groom had to catch her, tear her clothing, and touch her bare body. The bride's relatives present at the ceremony tried to hinder this in every way, beat the groom with twigs, pushed him away, and so on.

According to Koryak religion, the whole world was inhabited by a multitude of harmful beings—nin'vit's. The nin'vit's were invisible, but could become visible if they chose. They appeared to people in the form of anthropomorphic creatures, with huge ears, burning eyes (sometimes with one eye, sometimes with three), with long sharp teeth and a body covered with thick black fur. It was thought that the nin'vit's hunted and ate people by entering them and causing illness. To placate the nin'vit's, the Koryaks

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Images of ancestor spirits:
1—having "descendants"; 2—one without living "descendants."

To placate the nin'vits, the Koryaks
sacrificed to them. Thus, a hunter passing by a place considered to be inhabited by a nin'vit' had to make a sacrifice of a pinch of tobacco or several cartridges. The places inhabited by nin'vit's were very numerous; they were cliffs of unusual formation, hot springs or waterfalls, places where a corpse had been burned or a hunter perished, the ruins of a dwelling, abandoned after the death of one of its inhabitants, and so forth. Koryak ideas about the dead were ambivalent. They held that after death a person became a nin'vit', that is, a harmful, hostile being. At the same time, there was the notion of ancestors who lived somewhere underground or in the sky and helped their descendants, sending them success in the hunt, protecting their herds, etc. Ancestor images were made of wood. They were small, crudely carved wooden figures (kalak), representing a sitting or, more rarely, a standing person, with a flat face, without a nose, with two hollows in the place of eyes and a rather large hollow to indicate the mouth. During family celebrations the mouth-hole was filled with fat or fat meat. Every family had whole bundles of kalaks; every Koryak had his own kalak—his personal guardian.

The Koryaks believed that the shaman had power over nin'vit's. The shaman communicated with nin'vit's in total darkness; the entrance to the dwelling was carefully closed, the smoke vent was stopped up with a bundle of grass, the hearth fire was put out. The shaman struck his tambourine, cried out fragmentary words and phrases, danced and sang.

The shaman's actions were usually stimulated by intoxication from the fly-agaric eaten beforehand. When he tired, the shaman fell asleep. The Koryaks believed that the "prophetic fly-agaric" led him into the next world and arranged meetings with dead kinsmen, from whom the shaman obtained the necessary instructions. On awakening from his long sleep, the shaman related his visions to the people around him.

The Koryak shaman did not have any special dress. He performed his rituals in the usual clothing, which differed from the rest only in the large number of tags and disks of skin or beads attached to it. Some shamans made slight changes in their dress during the ritual performance, such as wearing a man's boot on one foot, and a woman's on the other. The tambourine was narrow-rimmed.

In addition to professional shamanism, the Koryaks also practiced family shamanism, predominantly in the hands of women. This was closely bound to the cult of the family hearth. Every member born in a family was regarded as a reincarnation of an ancestor. The exact identity of the ancestor was learned with the aid of divination. For this purpose, a stone in a leather pouch was suspended from a small tripod. The eldest member of the family